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The Writing of Women into Canadian Educational History in English Canada and Francophone Quebec, 1970 to 1995

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ABSTRACT

The 1970 *Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women of Canada* represents the first official federal document to examine the situation of women in Canadian education through a feminist lens. It paid close attention to education, claiming that “whenever women are denied access to education, they cannot be said to have equality.” Feminist historians participated in this transformative movement in response to an increasing demand to make women visible; the new social history, which developed novel methodologies in its quest to recover the past from the bottom up, assisted them in their efforts to develop the field of women’s history across Canada. Our article examines the importance of feminist associations, publishing houses, journals, and awards in supporting the development of scholarship on women and education. We follow that overview with comments about the earliest scholars working in this field, concentrating first on those in English Canada and then moving to the history of the field in Francophone Quebec.

RÉSUMÉ

Le *Rapport de la Commission royale d'enquête sur la situation de la femme au Canada* de 1970 constitue le premier document fédéral officiel à étudier la situation des femmes dans l'éducation canadienne dans une perspective féministe. Il a accordé une attention particulière à l'éducation, affirmant que lorsqu'« on refuse à une femme la possibilité de faire les mêmes études que l'homme, on ne peut dire qu'elle bénéficie de l'égalité ». Les historiennes et historiens, en majorité des chercheuses féministes, ont participé à ce mouvement de transformation en réponse à la demande croissante pour rendre les femmes visibles. Ayant contribué à développer de nouvelles méthodologies cherchant à reconstituer le passé à partir d'une approche « du bas vers le haut », la nouvelle histoire sociale leur a permis de développer le champ de l'histoire des femmes à travers le Canada. Notre article examine l'importance des associations féministes, des maisons d'édition, des revues et des prix comme soutien au développement de la recherche sur les femmes et l'éducation. Dans un second temps, nous examinons les figures pionnières de la recherche dans ce domaine, en nous concentrant d'abord sur les personnalités importantes du Canada anglais, avant de poursuivre avec l'histoire de ce champ de recherche au Canada français.

Introduction

The 1970 *Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women of Canada* represents the first official federal document to examine the situation of women in Canadian education through a feminist lens. A classic liberal-feminist analysis cast in an equal-rights framework, the report proposed an agenda for change with the goal of offering women equal opportunities with men in all aspects of society. It paid close attention to education, arguing that “whenever women are denied access to education, they cannot be said to have equality.”¹ The report’s content and vision were shaped by the large number of formal briefs, presentations, and testimonies submitted directly to the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada (RCSW) or received during its cross-country hearings. In turn, the arguments made to the RCSW were grounded in fundamental economic, social, and political developments that had occurred internationally and influenced Canadian society in the preceding decades. These included, but were not limited to, greater rates of women’s employment in waged labour, the resurgence of the peace movement, support for civil rights, and revolutionary books such as Betty Friedan’s *The Feminine Mystique*,² Kate Millett’s *Sexual Politics*,³ and Simone de Beauvoir’s *Le deuxième sexe*.⁴

This article responds to the third question identified for this special issue of *Historical Studies in Education*: “how have changes in Canadian society produced new questions that have deepened [educational] historians’ research and led to new insights?” We contend that changes reflected in documents like the *Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women of Canada* raised new questions about women’s access to major Canadian institutions, including those delivering higher education. With the entry of more women to universities and other research institutions, challenging questions about women’s involvement in formal and informal education at all levels were posed.

There remains a consensus that the RCSW proceedings and report acted as powerful tools of consciousness-raising for women across the country, many of whom would then join the emerging second wave of the women’s movement.⁵ Within academia, the feminist call for action and change resulted in the development of a feminist critique of the androcentric knowledge systems that prevailed in Canadian universities, and ultimately, in the establishment of the first women’s studies and women’s history courses and programs. Feminist historians participated in this transformative movement in response to an increasing demand to make women visible and to practise the new social history, which developed novel methodologies in its quest to recover the past from the bottom up.⁶

One key outcome of their involvement was the development of the new field of women and education, the beginnings of which we will discuss in this article. First, we explore the feminist associations, publishing houses, journals, and awards that fostered and promoted early scholarship in this field. We then survey some of the earliest work that shaped the field in both English Canada and francophone Quebec. While the authors of this work did not all subscribe to a feminist perspective, it nevertheless bore the imprint of second-wave feminism. We end our analysis in the mid-1990s,

because by then a third wave of feminism had emerged in educational history that invited an array of new questions and critiques regarding women's educational experiences in relation to racializations, sexuality, ableism, and class.

The Institutionalization of Women-Centred Scholarship

In exploring the origins of and early scholarship about women and education in a Canadian context, it is important to survey structural supports for educational historians focussing on women, including organizations that supported women's history and historians. These institutional structures provided networks and sites to present research. In addition, both feminist publishing houses and journals that provided outlets for research into women and education and awards offered visibility for this scholarship and encouraged scholars to pursue these areas of research.

One of the first bilingual organizations to assist feminist scholars generally, including those interested in educational history, was the Canadian Committee on Women's History/Comité canadien de l'histoire des femmes, the CCWH/CCHF. It was established in 1975 as a sub-committee of its parent organization, the Canadian Historical Association/ La Société historique du Canada, and so it remains. CCWH/CCHF sessions at the CHA/SHC annual meeting consistently included papers on women's involvement in education and supported graduate students, with both the number and range of these topics expanding by the mid-1980s.

A non-historical association, but one that was significant for early feminist researchers, was the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women/Institut canadien de recherche sur les femmes (CRIAW/ICREF), founded in 1976. CRIAW/ICREF's founding principle was to nurture feminist research and public advocacy in education. Their endorsement of women's history is evident in the creation of the Marta Danylewycz Memorial Fund to promote and support work in women's history from a feminist perspective.⁷

Educational history has always drawn scholars from both mainstream history departments and faculties of education. The national organization established in 1973–74 to support historical research in education faculties, the Canadian Association of Foundations in Education, was slow to recognize the importance of women in education or in supporting that area of scholarship. The first feminist president was Jane Gaskell, a sociologist, from 1983 to 1985, followed by a women's historian, Nancy Sheehan, from 1985 to 1987.

Scholarship in women and education was supported by the Canadian Women's Movement Archives (CWMA), which were established in Toronto in 1982. In 1992, the Canadian Women's Movement's collection and the CWMA were relocated to the University of Ottawa. They contain more than one hundred archival fonds, including documents and artifacts related to women's history and education.

By 1985, the year that Susan Mann was president of the CHA/SHC, a collection of articles based on presentations at the CHA/SHC's annual meeting in *Historical Papers/Communications historiques* included articles on schools, higher education, and reform by three historians: Ruby Heap, Malcolm MacLeod, and Wendy Johnston.⁸

A review of the CHA/SHC programs, *Historical Papers*, and *Histoire sociale/Social History* reveal only a handful of articles by women historians. Included in the CHA/SHC presentations are Kathleen McCrone's 1972 paper on "The Advancement of Women During the Age of Reform," subsequently published also in *Historical Papers/Communications historiques*⁹ and the germinal article on writing women's history by Elaine Silverman that was published in the *Canadian Historical Review* in 1982.¹⁰ Beyond these, however, few publications documented research on women and education, with the exception of Alison Prentice's article addressing "The Feminization of Teaching in British North America and Canada, 1845–1875."¹¹ Micheline Dumont was invited by the CHA/SHC to write *Girls' Schooling in Quebec, 1639–1960*, which appeared as Historical Booklet No. 49 in 1990.

In 1984, three education-related articles appeared in *Acadiensis*; one was about women's missionary practices, Christina Simmons's "Helping the Poorer Sisters: The Women of the Jost Mission, Halifax, 1905–1945."¹² In the journal *BC Studies*, founded in 1968, a number of articles discussed labour issues, but it was not until 1995 that women and education were featured in an article by Helen Brown entitled "Gender and Space: Constructing the Public School Teaching Staff in Nanaimo, 1891–1914."¹³ Launched in 1975, *Atlantis: A Women's Studies Journal*, took an interdisciplinary approach and frequently included articles by women historians of education, including Margaret Gillet on "Sexism in Higher Education" and Veronica Strong-Boag and Jennifer Stoddard "... And Things Were Going Wrong at Home," about the domestic life and education of bourgeois women in its inaugural issue.¹⁴

A turning point for scholars writing about women and education occurred with the founding of the Canadian History of Education Association/Association canadienne d'histoire de l'éducation (CHEA/ACHE) in Calgary in 1980 and its accompanying journal, *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation (HSE/RHE)*, which was introduced in 1989. Beginning in that year, the bilingual *HSE/RHE* supported research and dissemination of the history of women in education through publication of articles and book reviews. Following the 1989 CHEA/ACHE conference held in London, Ontario, with the theme, "Aspects of Class and Gender in Education," the journal's co-editors, Winnifred Millar, Ruby Heap, Rebecca Coulter, and Robert Gidney, published two issues containing articles which originated from the conference.¹⁵ While not the overarching theme of CHEA/ACHE conferences in the 1990s, gender continued as a sub-theme in all conference planning. With the introduction of the CHEA/ACHE Founders' Prize in 1992, Houston and Prentice won the book award for *Schooling and Scholars in Nineteenth-century Ontario* and Phillip McCann won the article prize for "Class, Gender and Religion in Newfoundland Education, 1836–1901," published in *HSE/RHE* in 1989.¹⁶

The first *HSE/RHE* issue in May 1989 featured historians of education, including Alison Prentice (keynote speaker at that year's conference), Marjorie Theobald, Nicole Neatby, Bruce Curtis, and Anne Gagnon. From its premier issue, the journal profiled research on women, girls, and education by professors from Canada and internationally, along with research conducted by graduate and post-doctoral students.

Historians benefited from these opportunities in substantive ways. In 1992, for example, Helen Lenskyj won the Riddell Award given by the Ontario History Society for her article, "Training for 'True Womanhood': Physical Education for Girls in Ontario Schools, 1890–1920," which was published in *HSE/RHE*.¹⁷ One year after its founding, the journal¹⁸ expanded its community to promote the work of scholars in other Canadian and international journals in the annual *Bibliography of Canadian Educational History*, within which women were routinely featured. In addition, the journal was a platform for supporting other feminist initiatives, such as the founding conference of the Ontario Women's History Network in 1990 and the Birmingham, England, History of Education Conference in 1992, which had the theme Historical Perspectives on Feminism and Education. Prior to social media, journals played a critical role not only in disseminating research but also in providing a network for communication among a disparate group of scholars across the country who might never have learned of these events without the journals' attention.

Among the medals awarded by the CHA was the Macdonald Medal, which was first given in 1977. Only one women's historian, Veronica Strong-Boag, was honoured, for her book *The New Day Recalled*, and that was in 1989.¹⁹ However, Ruth Roach Pierson received an honourable mention for her book, *They're Still Women*, in 1987.²⁰ The Hilda Neatby Award originated under the auspices of the CCWH in 1982 to recognize excellence in women's history. The first recipients of this award for research on women in education were Prentice and Danylewycz in 1987 for their article on teachers.²¹

The field of women and education thus evolved through the support of women's organizations—some long in existence and some new to the academic scene, some in history and others in associated fields—and though journals, publishing houses, and awards.

The History of Education and Women in English Canada

In 1970–71, Jill Ker Conway and Natalie Zemon Davis taught one of the first history of women courses in Canada at the University of Toronto. The same year, Deborah Gorham taught a second course at Carleton University. Courses in women's history encouraged new questions about women and education. Deborah Gorham's own work on women's education during the Victorian period, *The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal*,²² was supported by a body of international scholarship, both British and American, further stimulating scholarship in the field.

Another of the first scholars to centrally place women in educational history was Alison Prentice, a prominent scholar of the revisionist social history of Ontario education. Her *Family, School and Society in Nineteenth-century Canada*, co-authored with Susan Houston and published in 1975,²³ and *Schooling and Scholars in Nineteenth-Century Ontario*, which appeared in 1988, explored women's roles as administrators, teachers, and students in the school system. Her ground-breaking research with Marta Danylewycz and Beth Light in comparing the age, ethnicity, and marital and household status of male and female teachers effectively created a new

field of scholarship.²⁴ Prentice was an important member of the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education program in educational and women's studies, which acted as a magnet for feminist scholars interested in women and educational history. This group, which also comprised such scholars as Margrit Eichler, Dorothy E. Smith, Paula Bourne, Ruth Pierson, and Pat Staton, not only generated significant scholarship in this area, but also provided teaching materials to engage undergraduate and high school students.²⁵

Other scholars also explored the characteristics and life experience of teachers. Jane Errington investigated working women, including teachers, in Upper Canada through her *Wives and Mothers, School Mistresses and Scullery Maids: Working Women in Upper Canada, 1790–1840*.²⁶ Mary Kinnear, in her *In Subordination: Professional Women, 1870–1970*, studied how the training and work experience was historically gendered for women in Manitoba in five professional occupations—university teachers, physicians, lawyers, nurses, and primary/secondary school teachers.²⁷

The team of R. D. Gidney and W. P. J. Millar have contributed extensive research to the field of women and education as well as to educational scholarship generally. Their *Inventing Secondary Education* offered new primary research and solid interpretations on which other authors have begun to build.²⁸ Their studies resulted in a recognition of the importance of curricular prescription and changes for both women and men in schools, creating a new research focus in the 1980s and 1990s. The development of gender-specific vocational programs attracted particular interest, especially those in domestic science, the impact of which was discussed by several scholars in the 1970s and 1980s.²⁹

A good deal of writing on women and education emerged from studies of women's historical role in religion. Rosemary Gagan examined Canadian Methodist women missionaries' establishment of girls' schools in Japan and China,³⁰ while Ruth Compton Brouwer researched the educational and spiritual work of Canadian Presbyterian women missionaries in India.³¹ Sharon Cook's study of the Ontario Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) revealed the community temperance education programs run by WCTU women as well as their campaigns to influence the public school curriculum.³² Elizabeth Smyth has produced a wealth of scholarship on Ontario women religious as teachers and administrators.³³

Women in higher education developed as a sub-field from the early 1980s. Margaret Gillett's *We Walked Very Warily*³⁴ considered the tenuous position of early faculty members at McGill University. Judith Fingard's "Gender and Inequality at Dalhousie: Faculty before 1950"³⁵ and Lee Stewart's *"It's Up to You": Women at UBC in the Early Years*³⁶ surveyed women at those institutions. A wealth of valuable studies was offered by Paul Axelrod and John G. Reid in their 1989 edited collection, *Youth, University and Canadian Society: Essays in the Social History of Higher Education*.³⁷ Prentice also helped shape this scholarship through her "Bluestockings, Feminists or Women Workers? A Preliminary Look at Women's Early Employment at the University of Toronto."³⁸

In 1991, Heap and Prentice published the collection, *Gender and Education in Ontario: A Historical Reader*.³⁹ Awarded the CHEA's Founders' Prize for best

anthology in the history of education, the collection offered a sampling of more than fifteen years of research devoted to women and education in Ontario. Reflecting the shift in academic studies that privileged identity, Heap and Prentice called for more exploration into the education of women in specific class, ethnic, and racialized settings to fully reveal the diversity and complexity of women's educational experiences.

The History of Education and Women in Francophone Quebec

In Francophone Quebec as in English Canada, the birth of women's history occurred in the wake of "second wave" feminism, and of the "new" social history.⁴⁰ While francophone scholars engaged in the field could rely on the previously-noted bilingual feminist organizations and journals, they were also supported by an increasing array of francophone structures that promoted feminist interdisciplinary teaching and research, including through the development of women's studies.⁴¹ In 1976, the Groupe interdisciplinaire d'enseignement et de recherche sur les femmes (GIERF) was established at the Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM),⁴² followed in the 1980s by the creation of Université Laval's Chaire Claire-Bonenfant en études des femmes and Groupe de recherche multidisciplinaire féministe (GREMF). From 1975, the Montreal feminist press, Les éditions du remue-ménage, provided a major outlet for the dissemination of this work, along with the international and interdisciplinary journal, *Recherches féministes*, launched by GREMF in 1988.

In 1980, Université de Sherbrooke's Micheline Dumont and UQAM's Nadia Fahmy-Eid joined forces to launch an ambitious research project into the history of the education of girls in Quebec, which investigated the foundations of the history of women and education in francophone Quebec. In 1981, they established the Groupe de recherche en histoire de l'éducation des filles (GREF), which attracted a large number of junior scholars.⁴³

Dumont and Fahmy-Eid's first major publication, the 1983 edited collection, *Maîtresses de maison, maîtresses d'école: Femmes, famille et éducation dans l'histoire du Québec*, established key links between women's history and the fields of family history, educational history, and religious history, and demonstrated the interplay among gender, class, ethnicity, and religion in the shaping of women's educational experiences over time and in various formal and informal settings.⁴⁴ In 1986, a collective work by GREF, *Les Couventines: L'éducation des filles au Québec dans les congrégations religieuses enseignantes, 1840–1960*, unravelled the scope and complexity of convent education in Quebec and documented the major contribution of the female religious orders that dispensed it for more than a century. The authors challenged the portrayal of nuns as obedient followers of the Catholic church's conservative views on women, arguing instead that many aspired to offer the convent students an education equivalent to that of their male counterparts, as well as more opportunities for paid employment.⁴⁵

A similar perspective can be found in Nicole Thivierge's 1982 award-winning monograph on domestic science education in Quebec.⁴⁶ It reached further heights

in Marta Danylewycz's doctoral dissertation, "Taking the Veil: An Alternative to Marriage, Motherhood, and Spinsterhood in Quebec, 1840–1920," published posthumously in 1987.⁴⁷ Translated into French the following year,⁴⁸ this influential study contended that the option of a religious life offered Québécoises greater educational opportunities and influence in their community, in addition to highlighting the supportive relationships that some women religious developed with turn-of-the-century francophone lay feminists struggling at the time for women's access to higher education and the professions.⁴⁹ The translation of Danylewycz's other work on women educators and her collaboration with francophone feminist scholars fostered further scholarship⁵⁰ in addition to promoting comparative historical research in this new field of inquiry.⁵¹

By the late 1980s, women and education was identified as a key research theme in both women's and educational history in francophone Quebec.⁵² In 1991, Micheline Dumont and Nadia Fahmy-Eid published their own appraisal of ten years of research in this area in *HSE/RHE*. The previous decade had certainly been a productive one for GREF; indeed, they were now supervising their own team of researchers, each of which was pursuing a specific research program—school attendance, vocational training, and the funding of women's schooling in the case of Dumont, with Fahmy-Eid focusing on the training of female allied health professions in Quebec and Ontario. However, Fahmy-Eid described the extant scholarship as the small tip of a big iceberg. Fearing that the history of women and education would become an isolated sub-field, she called on her colleagues to promote it as the "missing link" that would lead to a more thorough and comprehensive understanding of the nature and functioning of education systems.⁵³

The History of Education and Black and Indigenous Women

The scholarship that emerged during the early days of second-wave feminism, while not explicitly identified as such, took its main subjects from among predominantly racialized white, middle-class, able-bodied, heterosexual women and girls. As in other fields of history, studies by and about the educational experiences of racialized black or Indigenous women were slow to emerge. The early critiques of the "woman-centred" approach reflected broader trends in Canadian scholarship that challenged the identity politics of the second-wave women's movement.⁵⁴ It was not until the early 1990s that scholarship questioning how racializations shaped women's experiences in society and education was published. Writings such as Dionne Brand's germinal manuscript, *No Burden to Carry* (1991), and Peggy Bristow, Dionne Brand, Linda Carty, Afua Cooper, Sylvia Hamilton, and Adrienne Shadd's edited collection, *We're Rooted Here and They Can't Pull Us Up* (1994), drew attention to the lack of representation of black women in histories of education.

Early scholarship by and about Indigenous women addressed girls' formal education, for example, in Marie Battiste and Jean Barmen's edited collection, *First Nations Education in Canada: The Circle Unfolds* (1995), which included Jo-Ann Archibald's article, "Locally Developed Native Studies Curriculum: An Historical

and Philosophical Pedagogy.”⁵⁵ Notably, Jean Barman’s articles “Schooled for Inequality: The Education of British Columbia Aboriginal Children” and “Separate and Unequal: Indian and White Girls at All Hallows School, 1884–1920” were both included in the edited collection, *Children, Teachers and Schools in the History of British Columbia*, published by Barman and her colleagues, Neil Sutherland and J. Donald Wilson, in 1995. This collection was among the first academic publications to study Indigenous girls’ education.⁵⁶

Extending beyond more traditional definitions of education, Indigenous scholars opened up new areas and spaces for research by asking questions related to places of learning, residential schools, and the role of Elders and knowledge-keepers as educators. The *Canadian Journal of Native Education* was important for supporting this research as seen in articles by Rosalyn N. Ing, “The Effects of Residential Schools on Native Child-rearing Practices” (1991), and Shirley Sterling, “Two Grandmother Models for Contemporary Native Education Pedagogy” (1992).⁵⁷

Conclusion

From the 1970s to the mid-1990s, research on the history of women and education developed rapidly in the context of a re-emerging feminist movement and the impact of social history. In both English Canada and francophone Quebec, researchers sought to provide answers to questions related to women’s educational experiences over time. Their scholarship reflected the major feminist goals of analyzing the roots and perpetuation of women’s inequality and subordination, of retrieving women from obscurity, and of reclaiming and re-evaluating their participation and contributions in all spheres of society. This scholarship also illustrates the growing importance of gender as an analytical tool in the study of key topics, such as access to education, the schools attended, what knowledge was received there and why, as well as the role, status, and influence of women as educators in both formal and informal settings. These historiographies revealed complex and multiple patterns of inequality and discrimination; at the same time, there was a noticeable movement beyond the “women as victims” approach, as researchers began to parse the choices some of them could and did make in the field of education, the motives underlying their decisions, and the resilience they displayed. The ground-breaking work devoted to women religious in Quebec is exemplary in this respect. On the methodological front, the innovative research conducted during this period called for the meticulous revisiting of old sources and the search for dispersed and fragmentary new ones, the analysis of fresh qualitative and quantitative data, and the use of oral history techniques.

Today, as in the previous decades examined in this article, the study of women, girls, and education reflects the relationship between the content of scholarly work and the evolving social context from which it has emerged.

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Notes

- 1 *Report of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada* (Ottawa: Information Canada, 1970), 183.
- 2 Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1963).
- 3 Kate Millett, *Sexual Politics* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1969).
- 4 Simone de Beauvoir, *Le Deuxième sexe*. II. *L'expérience vécue* (Paris: Gallimard, 1949).
- 5 On the impact of the RCSW, see Joan Grace, “Politics and Promise: A Feminist-Institutional Analysis of the Royal Commission on the Status of Women,” in *Commissions of Inquiry and Policy Change*, ed. Gregory J. Inwood and Carolyn M. Johns (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), 70–87.
- 6 See Veronica Strong-Boag, “Raising Clio’s Consciousness: Women’s History and Archives in Canada,” *Archivaria* 6 (Summer 1978): 70–71.
- 7 CRIAW/ICREF, <http://www.criaw-icref.ca/en/page/scholarship-funds>. Downloaded March 16, 2017.
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- 11 Alison Prentice, "The Feminization of Teaching in British North America and Canada, 1845–1875," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 8 (May 1975): 5–20.
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- 13 Helen Brown, "Gender and Space: Constructing the Public School Teaching Staff in Nanaimo, 1891–1914," *BC Studies* 105–106 (Spring/Summer 1995): 59–79.
- 14 Margaret Gillet, "Sexism and Higher Education," *Atlantis* 1, no. 1 (Fall 1975): 68–81; Jennifer Stoddart and Veronica Strong-Boag, "... And Things Were Going Wrong at Home," *Atlantis* 1, no. 1 (Fall 1975): 38–44.
- 15 *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* 1, no. 1 (Spring 1989) and *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* 1, no. 2 (Fall 1989).
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- 17 Helen Lenskyi, "Training for 'True Womanhood': Physical Education for Girls in Ontario Schools 1890–1920," *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* 2, no. 2 (Fall 1990): 205–223.
- 18 Alison Prentice, "Scholarly Passion: Two Persons Who Caught it," *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* 1, no. 1 (Spring 1989): 7–27; Nicole Neatby, "Preparing for the Working World: Women at Queen's during the 1920s," *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* 1, no. 1 (Spring 1989): 53–72; Bruce Curtis, "'Illicit' Sexuality and Public Education in Ontario, 1840–1907," *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* 1, no. 1 (Spring 1989): 73–94; Marjorie Theobald, "Discourse of Danger: Gender and the History of Elementary Schooling in Australia, 1850–1880," *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* 1, no. 1 (Spring 1989): 29–52; and Anne Gagnon, "The Pensionnat Assomption: Religious Nationalism in a Franco-Albertan Boarding School for Girls, 1926–1960," *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* 1, no. 1 (Spring 1989): 95–117.
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- 23 Alison L. Prentice and Susan E. Houston, eds., *Family, School and Society in Nineteenth-century Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1975).
- 24 Marta Danylewycz, Beth Light, and Alison Prentice, "The Evolution of the Sexual Division of Labour in Teaching: A Nineteenth-Century Ontario and Quebec Case Study," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 16, no. 31 (May 1983): 81–109.
- 25 In addition to important scholarly work, the program created teaching kits, and later, supporting materials for teaching women's history at the high school level.

- 26 Jane Errington, *Wives and Mothers, School Mistresses and Scullery Maids: Working Women in Upper Canada 1790–1840* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995).
- 27 Mary Kinnear, *In Subordination: Professional Women, 1870–1970* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995).
- 28 R. D. Gidney and W. P. J. Millar, *Inventing Secondary Education: The Rise of the High School in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990).
- 29 See, for example, Robert Stamp, "Teaching Girls Their God Given Place in Life": The Introduction of Home Economics in the Schools," *Atlantis* 2, no. 2 (Spring 1977): 18–34; Terry Crowley, "Madonnas Before Magdalenes': Adelaide Hoodless and the Making of the Canadian Gibson Girl," *Canadian Historical Review* 67, no. 4 (1986): 520–547, and Marta Danylewycz, Nadia Fahmy-Eid, and Nicole Thivierge, "L'enseignement ménager et les 'home economics' au Québec et en Ontario au début du 20^e siècle: une analyse comparée," in *An Imperfect Past: Education and Society in Canadian History*, ed. J. D. Wilson (Vancouver: UBC Centre for the Study of Curriculum and Instruction, 1984), 67–119.
- 30 Rosemary Gagan, *A Sensitive Independence: Canadian Methodist Women Missionaries in Canada and the Orient, 1881–1925* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992).
- 31 Ruth Compton Brouwer, *New Women for God: Canadian Presbyterian Women and India Missions, 1876–1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990).
- 32 Sharon Anne Cook, *"Through Sunshine and Shadow": The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario, 1874–1930* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995).
- 33 See, for example, Elizabeth Smyth, "'Writing Teaches Us Our Mysteries': Women Religious Recording and Writing History," in *Creating Historical Memory*, ed. Boutilier and Prentice, 101–128.
- 34 Margaret Gillett, *We Walked Very Warily: A History of Women at McGill* (Montreal: Eden Press Women's Publications, 1981).
- 35 Judith Fingard, "Gender and Inequality at Dalhousie: Faculty Women Before 1950," *Dalhousie Review* 64, no. 4 (1985): 687–703.
- 36 Lee Stewart, *"It's Up to You": Women at UBC in the Early Years* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1990).
- 37 Paul Axelrod and John G. Reid, eds., *Youth, University and Canadian Society: Essays in the Social History of Higher Education* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989). See especially articles by Chad Gaffield, Lynne Marks, and Susan Larkin; Nancy Kiefer and Ruth Roach Pierson; and Diana Pedersen and Judith Fingard.
- 38 Alison Prentice, "Bluestockings, Feminists or Women Workers? A Preliminary Look at Women's Early Employment at the University of Toronto," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 2, no. 1 (1991): 231–262.
- 39 Ruby Heap and Alison Prentice, *Gender and Education in Ontario: An Historical Reader* (Toronto: Canadian Scholars' Press, 1998).
- 40 See Micheline Dumont, *Découvrir la mémoire des femmes: Une historienne face à l'histoire des femmes* (Montreal: Les éditions du remue-ménage, 2001), 41; and Andrée Lévesque, "Réflexions sur l'histoire des femmes dans l'histoire du Québec," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 51, no. 2 (1997), 272.
- 41 Andrée Lévesque notes in her 1997 survey that the new scholarship in women's history was produced overall from a feminist perspective. Lévesque, "Réflexions sur l'histoire des femmes dans l'histoire du Québec," 278.
- 42 In 1990, GIERF became the Institut de recherche et d'études féministes (IREF).

- 43 Dumont and Fahmy-Eid also encouraged francophone research in this area by joining the editorial board of *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation*. One of GREF's members, University of Ottawa professor Ruby Heap, also sat as the journal's first francophone co-editor.
- 44 Nadia Fahmy-Eid and Micheline Dumont, eds., *Maîtresses de maison, maîtresses d'écoles: Femmes, famille et éducation dans l'histoire du Québec* (Montreal: Les éditions du Boréal Express, 1983).
- 45 Micheline Dumont et Nadia Fahmy-Eid, avec la collaboration de Johanne Daigle, Lucia Ferretti, Ruby Heap, Claudette Lasserre, Marie-Paule Malouin, et Danielle Nepveu, *Les couventines. L'éducation des filles au Québec dans les congrégations religieuses enseignantes, 1840–1960* (Montreal: Les éditions du Boréal, 1986). *Les couventines* won the CHEA's Founders' Prize for the best collective work published in the history of education in Canada. See also Marie-Paule Malouin's study of the interplay between gender and class in Montreal schools run by nuns, *Ma sœur, à quelle école allez-vous? Deux écoles de filles à la fin du XIXe siècle* (Montreal: Fides, 1985).
- 46 Nicole Thivierge, *Histoire de l'enseignement ménager-familial au Québec, 1882–1970* (Québec, QC: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1982). The study was awarded the best book prize (Prix Lionel Groulx) by the Institut d'histoire de l'Amérique française in 1983. Another revealing case study of the efforts made by Quebec's women religious to offer girls the "cours classique" reserved for male students can be found in Michèle Jean, "L'enseignement supérieur des filles et son ambiguïté: le collège Marie-Anne, 1932–1958," in *Maîtresses de maison, maîtresses d'école*, ed. Fahmy-Eid and Dumont, 143–170.
- 47 Marta Danylewycz, *Taking the Veil: An Alternative to Marriage, Motherhood and Spinsterhood* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1987).
- 48 See *Profession: religieuse. Un choix pour les Québécoises, 1840–1920* (Montreal: Les éditions du Boréal, 1988).
- 49 The campaign for women's higher education led by turn-of-the-century middle-class feminists in francophone Quebec was discussed in Marie Lavigne, Yolande Pinard, and Jennifer Stoddart, "La Fédération nationale Saint-Jean-Baptiste et les revendications féministes au début du 20e siècle," in *Travailleuses et féministes: Les femmes dans la société québécoise*, ed. Marie Lavigne and Yolande Pinard (Montreal: Les éditions du Boréal Express, 1983), 199–216.
- 50 An article on Montreal's female teachers was included in *Maîtresses de maison, maîtresses d'école*, while a comparative study of domestic science in Ontario and Quebec, co-authored by Marta Danylewycz, Nadia Fahmy-Eid, and Nicole Thivierge, was published in the edited collection, J. D. Wilson, ed., *An Imperfect Past: Education and Society in Canadian History* (Vancouver: Centre for the Study of Curriculum and Instruction, University of British Columbia, 1984). See Marta Danylewycz, "Sexes et classes sociales dans l'enseignement: le cas de Montréal à la fin du 19e siècle," in *Maîtresses de maison, maîtresses d'école*, ed. Dumont and Fahmy-Eid, 93–118; Marta Danylewycz, Nadia Fahmy-Eid, and Nicole Thivierge, "L'enseignement ménager et les 'home economics' au Québec et en Ontario au début du 20e siècle: une analyse comparée," in *An Imperfect Past: Education and Society in Canadian History*, ed. Wilson, 67–119. Examples of the continuing interest in the history of female teachers in Quebec include Ruby Heap, "Les femmes laïques au service de l'enseignement public catholique à Montréal: les écoles des 'dames et demoiselles'" *Canadian Woman Studies/Les Cahiers de la femme* 7, no. 3 (1986): 55–60; Andrée Dufour, "Diversité institutionnelle et fréquentation scolaire dans l'île de Montréal en 1825 et 1835," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 16, no. 4 (1988): 507–536; and Anne Drummond, "Gender, Profession and Principals: The Teachers of Québec Protestant Academies," *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* 2, no. 1 (Spring 1990): 59–72.

- 51 In 1975, Micheline Dumont invoked the potential of comparative historical research to achieve a better understanding of the rapid expansion of female religious orders in Quebec. Dumont, *Découvrir la mémoire des femmes*, 27. This approach shaped Nadia Fahmy-Eid's growing scholarship in the 1980s and 1990s. Examples include Nadia Fahmy-Eid and Nicole Laurin-Frenette, "Théories de la famille et rapports famille-pouvoirs dans le secteur éducatif au Québec et en France (1850–1960)," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 34, no. 2 (1980): 197–221; Nadia Fahmy-Eid and Nicole Thivierge, "L'éducation des filles au Québec et en France (1880–1930): une analyse comparée," in *Maîtresses de maison, maîtresses d'école*, ed. Dumont and Fahmy-Eid, 191–221; and Danylewycz, Fahmy-Eid, et Thivierge, "L'enseignement ménager et les 'home economics' au Québec et en Ontario au début du 20^e siècle," in *An Imperfect Past: Education and Society in Canadian History*, ed. Wilson. In the late 1980s, Fahmy-Eid undertook a large-scale comparative study of allied health professions that culminated in the collective work, *Femmes, santé et profession: Histoire des diététistes et des physiothérapeutes au Québec et en Ontario, 1930–1980. L'affirmation d'un statut professionnel* (Saint-Laurent, QC: Fides, 1997). The book was a finalist for the Jean-Charles Falardeau Prize, awarded by the Federation for the Humanities and Social Sciences for the best book published in French in the social sciences. In 1996, Fahmy-Eid discussed the merits of comparative historical research in her CHA presidential address: "Discours de la présidente: Histoire comparée, histoire plus vraie? Quelques balises et des promesses d'avenir," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association/Revue de la Société historique du Canada* 7, no. 1 (1996): 3–18.
- 52 See Chad Gaffield, "Back to School: Towards a New Agenda for the History of Education," *Acadiensis* 15, no. 2 (1986), 180; Renée Cloutier, Roberta Mura, and France Parent, "Tendances et perspectives de la recherche sur les femmes et l'éducation au Canada (1975–1986)," in *Recherche et progrès en éducation: bilan et perspectives*, Actes du 1^{er} Congrès des sciences de l'éducation de langue française du Canada (Québec, QC: Université Laval, 1987), 49–54; Andrée Lévesque, "Historiography: History of Women in Québec since 1985," *Quebec Studies* 12 (1991), 87; and Gail Cuthbert Brandt, "Postmodern Patchwork: Some Recent Trends in the Writing of Women's History in Canada," *Canadian Historical Review* 72, no. 4 (1991), 443.
- 53 Micheline Dumont and Nadia Fahmy-Eid, "L'histoire de l'éducation des filles au Québec: La pointe de l'iceberg," *Historical Studies in Education/Revue d'histoire de l'éducation* 3, no. 2 (1991): 224–232. The article included a list of the publications produced by GREF between 1981 and 1991. See "Liste des productions issues du Groupe de recherche en histoire de l'éducation des filles au Québec (1981–1991)": 233–36.
- 54 See, for example, Mary-Jo Nadeau, "Rebuilding the House of Canadian Feminism: NAC and the Racial Politics of Participation," in *Opening Doors Wider: Women's Political Engagement in Canada*, ed. Sylvia Bashevkin (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009).
- 55 Jo-Ann Archibald, "Locally Developed Native Studies Curriculum: An Historical and Philosophical Pedagogy," in *First Nations Education in Canada: The Circle Unfolds*, ed. Jean Barman and Marie Battiste (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1995), 288–312.
- 56 Jean Barman, "Schooled for Inequality: The Education of British Columbia Aboriginal Children," in *Children, Teachers and Schools in the History of British Columbia*, ed. Jean Barman, Neil Sutherland, and J. Donald Wilson (Calgary: Detselig, 1995), 57–80; Jean Barman, "Separate and Unequal: Indian and White Girls at All Hallows School, 1884–1920," in *Children, Teachers, and Schools in the History of British Columbia*, ed. Jean Barman, Neil Sutherland, and J. Donald Wilson (Calgary: Detselig, 1995), 337–58.

- 57 N. Rosalyn Ing, "The Effects of Residential Schools on Native Child-rearing Practices," *Canadian Journal of Native Education*, Supplement, 18 (1991): 65–118; Shirley Sterling, "Two Grandmother Models for Contemporary Native Education Pedagogy," *Canadian Journal of Native Education* 19, no. 1 (1992): 165–174.